

**ISGQ-2003-M0001714 (in progress)**

Male 1 ...And the officers, etc. Meaning that when they talk about it... more than the pain they're used to. What can we do? May god give us patience.

We did not discuss this matter as leaders or committees. We look at this matter, deal with it. The comrades suggest something; I guide them with something, but as a commanding commission, putting each matter in general perspective. Meaning we did not research it since then, we researched it in the beginning.

I think that the time has come to discuss it. To do a comprehensive research. It's clear that some people came to us already assigned a mission, I will describe the situation, Dahwk, Sulaymaniyya and Arbil have their own authority, and we have no authority. As far as I know all the security, Police and the directorates withdrew, meaning we have nothing left. Everyone withdrew, isn't that true?

Male 2 Yes sir.

Male 1 And they are competing with us on some parts of Diyala, Kirkuk and Mosul. So what they have is not enough, they're still trying. The Army, did not take our directions into considerations earlier; each is to avoid the small attacks and how to maneuver, and to stay away from the outskirts of cities because that confuses the Army. [Inaudible], now the Dialogue Committee and the Coordination Committee are coming and going and under the cover of the Coordination Committee. They took them and they saw the Coordination Committee in the middle of the military camp. They were all taken. We wanted back the Army, re-enforced it, secured it, trained it and we got it ready, and kept it away from confrontation. So now the Army is not in Arbil, maybe in some parts of Arbil. It's not in Sulaymaniyyah or Dahwk. But at any time they want to attack, of course the Army is able to respond and produce results. This matter is left for time and the leadership's decision. Mas'ud said that he is with us, but we have not yet benefited directly from him. The comrades used to ask if Mas'ud is on our side, I tell them hopefully he is with us. We always thought Mas'ud better than Jalal, but we don't have anything yet that can guarantee him. Are they all playing us? All of them? Jalal and all the people except for Mas'ud are playing us for sure. Mas'ud is the one left; this question is growing with time, not getting any smaller.

I think we should let our people in Dahwk, Sulaymaniyya and Arbil try, not by choice but by necessity, let them try and tell them that we want to solve this confrontation. So why are we your main problem everyday? The enemy is the Army, the enemy is the Police and the enemy is the government worker, the enemy is the Ba'th member, the enemy is the security officer, the enemy... now you have no enemy, this is Sulaymaniyya, Arbil and Dahwk. If you want to create the country of Kurdistan, do it. If you want to create your Parties, then do it. The most important thing is to tell our people to try. We have to have regime stability if we want to live. We damage our organizations, and our people. So during this period, I prefer this plan, that the Army stays away from contact, but has to draw the line there. Anything else and it will use force. The Army should not have two colors, doesn't have more colors than black and white. You harm it and destroy it.

I see the Army morale in the south is high, and some is back just like it used to be before the war. They're better when it comes to morale, armament, organizing and some of the

training. In a short time they will be just like the original divisions in the Army before the war. But these units were insulted and harmed, because its neither war nor peace, neither friend nor enemy, neither white line nor black line. We're amongst them but the Kurds... when the soldier goes to the market he hears all kinds of insults, they force him to take off his hat, and the officer cannot have his rank, etc... every day we have to protect and guard a different battalion. It's a battalion, but still needs protection. Their morale was shot down.

Of course we have experience, many time our Army had zero morale, and we bring them back fast. But I want to describe the situation as is. The return and the formation of the Army are correct. Any underestimation of the plan we devised will put you in a dangerous situation. Meaning, the Army should not have more than two colors, every one is considered an enemy, and they should never allow anyone near their area of responsibility; use force.

The other side is administrative and political. We have to make our enemy weak with whatever we can, but we have to be ready for side effects. We don't rush in without considering the side effects. This is one of the things that need counting. I took action on some things; this one needs planning from all angles.

Are we supposed to keep feeding the two city's people like we feed the people of Karbla? This is a title. What does this title contain? It contains that, if you don't feed them, the international politicians will say "you did not feed your people" "we will come to feed them", and some of them will tell you "we have no money so we have to run Kirkuk's oil to feed them".

Of course not everything they say... there are some things assumed but not every thing with an assumption will happen. But we have to consider it. We see their share and we act upon it, and we monitor the international politics, do they want to battle? All the officials in the international politics are gathered. Do they want to fight us over everything, or do they just threaten us when it comes to certain things? And they see how much we can take, how cooperative we are, and how much we approve...

The Kurdish situation right now will worry the Turkish and Iranian governments and worry America, because that will bring out... it will be like a hornet's nest. Just like Lebanon, you don't know what your neighbors are going to do.

But they also exist amongst them and they also can take out those bees from their nest to sting us. Do you see the balance? But I noticed in general, I did not see any enthusiasm in international politics about creating the Country of Kurdistan, it does not exist. So, their action will be, regardless of the majority agreeing on harming us, they will be cautious in this matter. So we have to know their cautious angles. When we press an issue, we will know how they will react and we can slow down accordingly.

On the other side, Kurdistan will turn into an economic and security crisis in front of us, as long as we're not friends, we have no control over our good people there. Until one day they will come to us and ask for help. Then we will help them. There is time for everything. Until then the cars keep getting stolen in the hundreds and get transferred to Iran? Or we say, welcome to cars coming from Kurdistan. Welcome. Bringing rugs? Also welcome. Iraqi Dinars and hard currency will not leave in stacks either. Nothing will leave our little Iraq. But everything can come in, except for weapons and traitors. We will use the harshest laws against the traitors. Meaning slit their throats when they come here. We have to be firm within the areas we control; the party must be firm also and no more

joking. This point also needs a long discussion; I'm not just talking about the Party and agencies being firm; this is already done. When I say firm, I mean not to forget our responsibilities, as Ba'thists, and the people are Kurds and Arabs. We have to guide them, but be firm. The thing that needs study is do we let our economy go down? And everything go out...

Male 3 Everything

Male 1 Everything is going out. The Kurds are taking everything and exporting it; our economy is going down. What do we have? We don't have anything; we're under the sanctions. So we say, we'll allow everything to come in from your side except weapons, suspicious people...

Male 4 Sir, drugs...

Male 1 Yes, I mean everything except everything that is banned. But nothing leaves from our side. Not even a meter of clothes. This is a solution. The other solution... we said the country has no more responsibilities; we said this will need study from all angles. The solution is we tell them that you are Iraqis, we agree specially those original political Iraqis. Statistics say this many in Sulaymaniyyah, this many in Arbil...till some day. We spent on the card and the Parties are responsible, let the parties go and steal the food, and they will face the consequences. We give it to you, we give them points, but we will not send anymore government employees, so they can't blame it on the government

Male 5 They come to Kirkuk

Male 1 The parties can receive them and go away. And they will do what ever they want to do with it, even if they throw them in the river, but it has to be known, this is an OK resolutions. The United Nations has nothing to do with it, neither do we. Cars... KAKA [TC: KAKA is friend in Kurdish] come and bring what ever you want, but any car cannot go beyond the border point, you will have to turn around and go back or leave it by your house and take a taxi if you want to go to the other side, even if you want to go to East Germany, but you can't take anything with you, except the clothes you are wearing. This is one of the points. If the UN wants to run the oil from Kirkuk, we'll tell them no; and if they say we'll fight you, we tell them OK, we'll fight you. We'll go through a military battle over this subject, because it cannot go wrong. By doing this they damaged our internal political life, and they delayed the election of a president elected by the people, so the régime will stay in the eye of the Americans a revolutionary régime that does whatever it wants. It decides who are the Command Council members and the president. Meaning that ruling Iraq in general...and we were not surprised when we came to this conclusion it was one of the very strong conclusions... but now it is a conclusion that has a higher possibility than other conclusions. Each action from the enemy or from us has a time frame, because of progress, some get stronger some get weaker, and some expire. Something within the economic situation, but it does not concern Kurdistan, it concerns an

Arabic neighboring country and it's Jordan. Iraqi cars are going back and forth, driven by people and getting sold. We also need to discuss this...

Male 6 Their cars

Male 1 Drive the car. Maybe they will drive the car to the borders and a Jordanian car will meet them and pay them money.

Male 6 It cannot happen

Male 1 Or an Iraqi taxi will take him to Jordan and bring him back. If it can help the economy. I see anything leaving our country will harm us, maybe some people will tell you "no way does it harm you, there is nothing wrong with a car getting sold for five thousand dollars, they will bring flour for five thousand dollars " some might think this way in the council. But it's one of the economic matters we must resolve. You study it, and if you already did and made a decision, then congratulations

Male 6 Sir, if you allow me?

Male 1 No, so we won't take long, because that's the main issue

Male 6 No I'm not going to take long.  
The truth is we according to your guidance, the committee, I and the comrades Tariq, Ali and Hussein and...

Male 1 And the Minister of Finance, Minister of Commerce...

Male 6 The Minister of Finance, Minister of Commerce yes

Male 1 And the Deputy of the Presidential Office

Male 6 And the Deputy of the Presidential Office, we discussed all of these matters, and we made committees in charge that include me, brother Ali and Brother Hussein, we discussed every thing you mentioned even in the self-governed area, going in the city and coming out of the city and how to deal with it, everything was looked at and represented to you [Inaudible] also according to the rights we have, we made our decisions, this is one Two, we stopped all the cars from going to Kurdistan, even the ones who are coming for the food supplies, now they bring their own cars and then take their food supplies, we don't let our cars go there

Male 1 The self-governed area?

Male 6 Yes

Male 7 Last week

Male 6 I'm sorry?

Male 7 I was telling Mr. President we researched it last week.

Male 6 Yes it was studied and a decision was made and action was taking.  
Also we asked and suggested that this area be forbidden, and we suggested giving power to the Minister of Interior over that area so he can have better control.  
Even if it requires arresting some people and taking necessary action for any security matters regarding Sulaymaniyah, Arbil and Dahwk.  
The truth is Sir, we considered, as you will see, only the issue of Dahwk. We considered Dahwk because it is the gateway to Zakhu, at borders we were worried to confront the cars that are coming from Turkey. We did not want them to stop coming because we are benefiting out of it now, that is why we gave Dahwk some consideration. According to your order, I pulled all government employees and I stopped all the services. When it comes to the food supplies, health, power, and the water, reconsider this issue, sorry. Really besides that, the food supplies get picked up by them, the health department and the doctors who were at risk, we transferred them to areas outside the self-governed area, and the rest who are not at risk and did not ask to be transferred, are still there. And that includes teachers, and doctors. We're taking action on all these matters, this is just a summary on what we have done, and every thing will be presented to you with some requests.

Male 1 Ok, 'Abid, you got those requests?

Male 8 No Sir.

Male 1 Hatam, you got those committee requests?

Male 9 No Sir.

Male 1 The one the Prime Minister is talking about?

Male 6 The North situation

Male10 We had suggestions about two cities: Sulaymaniyah and Arbil, and every thing you talked about was the subject of our meeting

Male 1 Excellent

Male10 Not only similar words but exact words.  
Truthfully the legality matters that we're facing are the matter of our production and transferring products in the Iraqi market and from city to another. We don't have any illegality with this, which was before. I wrote to the Presidency and they transferred me to the Prime Ministry, and within that committee that we've talked about also we sent it to the Presidency. We said all the products that are going to the northern area are considered smuggling and will be confiscated, to include Sulaymaniyah and Arbil to be forbidden. It

doesn't reach the city of Dahwk for two reasons, the reason that comrade Mohammad mentioned, and the other reason is, Mr. President to be frank with you, is that the black and white still exists between us and between Mas'ud Al-Barazani. [Inaudible]

Male11 Maybe in the departments. [Inaudible]

Male 1 I would like to see those requests presented to the General Command, because this is important, so the complete picture will be clear, because this is the foundation, when we start from a foundation we all understand, the Ba'thists, the people, and the whole world can start in the same way, our mobilization will be worth it. I suggest to you that we return tonight and read it all in the meeting, one by one, because that is my priority subject. According to it, we'll start developing, everyone in his work field, and together when we meet.

Yes.

Male12 Mr. President, since you opened that subject, I think the Command should talk about the matter on two levels, the general outline level for the political command [Inaudible] and the second level is to translate the specifics [Inaudible]

Male 1 ...715 and the letter of the Foreign Minister to the chief of the Security Council.

Male13 [Inaudible]

Male 1 We took this decision and the letter as a main entry to the subject in general, so we take a closer look at the international politics after this time frame, and we take a close look at all the decisions that happened, where we stand and what happened after it. Even now the summary of what positively happened is that the attack did not recur, we didn't have bombs falling after the ceasefire or after they broke the ceasefire when they attacked the Republican Guard. You know we did not ask for ceasefire, the President of the United States requested and we agreed after that. They broke the ceasefire by attacking the Republican Guard. They did not attack Baghdad after all that happened, or the other cities, but endless disrespectful and aggressive things happened, but not by shooting. Some of it is flying over Mosul; harm the city and breaking the windows, etc. Very provocative daily operations. Another side, when we hold strongly to a common theme, we embarrass the international position. The big countries will never agree on one reaction. One reaction meaning open fire on us, they start looking for what is called the compromise solution. When we give flexibility we tend to agree. For example, the inspections that took and the person that comrade Tariq said, "Do Not Give him the Documents" what is his Name?

Male14 David Kay, [EN: UN Chief Weapons Inspector in Iraq 1983-92], Mr. President

Male 1

David Kay, etc. We had a strong stand, but we gave flexibility after that as an exit so the crisis does not continue. The economic sanctions stand the same, up until now we did not have any effect on the embargo. Our stand from the economic blockade till now is, they issue a decision and we discuss it, we agree, we disagree, we modify, or etc... they don't like our modifications; we don't come back about the disagreement, things like that. Until now we don't have any positive proposals to help us gradually end the economic embargo. Either from the speaker or the directly involved comrades, we don't have anything big to show off for to say that we tried and that will lead to something. Like the politicians, we wait for the security council to meet and agree or disagree, and that's it. There are no proposals on the Islamic and Arabic level; off course I know that making a proposal is linked to the known international circumstances, but at the same time I will not cancel the possibility of a proposal and its effects. The brain is always capable of creating something.

I noticed that every time we make concessions, the bad people use us more. I do not notice them respecting our flexibility; they treat it as weakness not as flexibility. I also notice that some of our organizations deal with minor and major issues the same. When we tell America "let's go to battle" this is big, at the same time, if they tell them "we have to search this box" they think when we tell them no, also go to war. I don't think so, I don't believe this, if war is that easy and the world is so foolish not standing by the good people, if they don't depend on tangible facts...

When the war happened, first they started to gather people for a long time, they agree, disagree, agree, and disagree, till they agreed. Took six months.

When the war started the temptations were more for the enemy. The Kuwaiti leaders throw money; the Saudi leaders throw money, UAE leaders throwing money. So the enemy or the ones who sympathized and helped them had the following available to them: Land; the King agreed for sure and there is no opposition to reject it, this is number one. Arabic support from all of the ones who announced their support, and the understanding that those who did not publicly announce their support it was not for nationalism, but because of their fear of their people, they knew this will not harm them and put them in a dangerous situation.

Those agreeing with their people were less than those called the Arabic Deliverance Group, and some called themselves part of that group because their people sympathized with us. We didn't know all these details, we could've known earlier, but they knew because they are 33 countries, word from here and there, and they organized their intelligence communication. Now I believe that their intelligence is not as strong as it used to be before.

Is there any Arabic country willing to make their land a base for the enemies now just because Iraq did not cooperate with some of the resolutions of the Security Council? Or because Iraq resents the people who are trying make him weak in his own land? I don't believe so; I don't believe that the Saudi leader can decide without warning; just like they desisted on placing all their capabilities in the enemies order as a base for the enemies. And I don't think the \$60 billion that was spent on the enemy that any buddy can pay it, like it happened.

At the same time, I don't think that the enemy able to gather the same amount of people they had when they attacked us neither the air nor land support like they had before.

On the foreign level, are the enemy countries able to use non-Arab lands? The answer is yes; yes they are able to use non-Arab lands. But can they keep the same crowd as they had in the same timing? I don't think so. Can the enemies use some of our surrounding countries to help them on attacking us? The answer is yes; yes they can, but can they use it the same open way the used on us? The answer in no; not the same way. They use neighboring people, but not the same way

Male15 [Inaudible]

Male 1 So far the enemy benefits, we throw away one third of this talk, two thirds will remain, or one half, we will have the remaining half. This half is new and different than the old circumstances.  
This will require us to help each other and eventually we will get better; the command, the Ba'th and the people.  
But if we assume that the enemy can do anything and anytime... beside the logical point...

Male16 We have to...

Male 1 That will wear us out, politically and psychologically...

Male 16 No more politics

Male 1 So the comrades know, till now all of our atomic and chemical projects were destroyed, it was set to be destroyed and it was, same with all of our missiles and biological projects...

Male16 Biological...

Mail 1 All of our Biological projects. There's nothing left on the resolutions level that didn't happen. The rest started to come at us more. They allowed us to have 150Km range for the missiles; they started to make resolutions outside the other resolutions, that's not right, because a resolution cannot override a former resolution. Is it that easy to come and put 50 Km? For example, when we say, "forget you!" we don't want 50 Km, from the smallest to the highest person in the government, they're not going to say "no we're not going to attack you", it turned into a game.  
So I can't be treated this way, a way of...we can't tell America "we're stronger than you, and lets fight" what is this? Maybe that was possible before the war...

Male16 [Inaudible] the U.N and the Security Council...

Male 1 I discussed this matter in the national conference in the letter with you; take your time discussing the details so we can reach a solution to deal with the issues.  
And we'll see... can't we penetrate the embargo? Use unconventional methods. After their conference, we'll see where it's going to take them. Maybe we will try to research the Iraq-Iran relationship, and maybe the Syrian-Iraq relationship.

Male16 [Inaudible] failure... [Inaudible] Iran doesn't have anything it wants in Iraq anymore...

Male 1 This is it; Iran's transgression to us will stay...

Male16 But something fast, I don't think...

Male 1 ...And hopefully we'll succeed in the Kurdish matter, but if we don't succeed with the dialogue, from now on we have to agree on something. We'll agree on something specific, we will no longer have dialogue with any one.

Male16 If we don't agree after all that, we have to agree...

Male 1 Because we have been harmed, disappointed, hurt and deceived too many times for too long. Anyway so we understand that Iran will continue to have transgressions against us, and they will not stop conspiring, but that does not necessarily mean we will not research the issue. So, we let this conference's specifics become obvious, and by the way I want, maybe comrade Tariq is the most aware person among us, to make us a summary of what happened with our friends, on what they did in their conference.  
I have to tell you, these days I don't watch too much international media because it has nothing, but you have to keep watching. I watched enough, so in this stage the keys remain the same, we tried it, and it's the same, and I don't see any main changes, even analyses have no more value, because when the soccer player has the goal wide open you lose the excitement of the game. So these are the matters that I want you to do your research on

Male17 Do we discuss it now?

Male16 No we will discuss it tonight

Male 1 Well, how much we have left? You said we have till 2:00PM. We'll go have lunch and come back refreshed in the evening.

Mail 16 The second meeting...

Male 1 We'll go have lunch and come back refreshed in the evening.

Male17 So we will give it what its worth. You Sir, said...

Male16 Yeah, yeah so we give it our best attention...

Male 1 No, I didn't mean that we have to settle it now. Even if we started it...

Male16 Maybe we can't even finish tonight...

Male 1 We'll continue.

Yes

Male18 Sir, about the Iranian representative, started to meet a few of the ministers; he's showing his desire to improve the Iraq-Iran relationship. Comrade Tariq and I talked and discussed information about this subject, comrades Tariq's idea was that the representative should know that his government is acting completely opposite from what he is saying, and we'll see the reaction.  
I directed the ones whom he wanted to meet, and this discussion happened.  
Until now the representative is assuring the point of improving the relationship and the

desire of the Iranian side to improve the relations.

The latest I got is, remember Sir, when the Prime Minister and I came back from Iran, and they issued invitations for the ministers.

The latest I got from the Health Minister, our health department that the Iranian Health Minister is asking to visit Iraq because he had a previous invitation. But because of the situation that we used to have he couldn't before.

So they want their Health minister to visit. We looked at it, and we said we have no problem with it, if he wants to come, welcome. If he wants to come and meet with us, we have no problem with that.

The truth, Sir, now they're trying in a way to contact us and improve their relationship with us, my opinion is yes, what you said about them conspiring against us is true, but that doesn't mean we don't take precautions and be aware when dealing with them, and at the same time we move to the Iranian side to at least have them on our side. This is my opinion. This is the information we have about the Iranian movements

Male 1 About Iran, I'm pointing out one thing, they are practical people, "Pragmatic", as Mr. Sa'dun Hammadi likes to call them. They noticed now that the Gulf countries are not taking care of them like they used to, the Gulf countries have America so they don't need Iran any more, so the political side got weak, the friendship side. They don't fear them any more either.

And the international level also, they made a big deal of Iran before, and now it slowed down, isn't that so Comrade Tariq?

Tariq Yes, and they're pressuring them about the Nuclear subject.

Male 1 Nuclear, and others...

Tariq They are talking about Iran just like they did with us in the beginning.

Male 1 In the beginning.

The other side, in their meetings, their ambassadors all over the world are telling them that the Islamic world by consensus is against them, I'm sure they do so because their stand about Iraq, and I'm sure they also tell them, the general Arabic consensus is against them too for the same reason.

So they do need a visit that would give the impression that they are trying to improve things with us. Of course they want that, its not going to hurt them, on the public side...

Male19 Inside and outside

Male 1 And it's not harmful on the Islamic, Arabic, international and the non-aligned countries sides either. Not harmful is a title, but you know it is very helpful on the inside. So we shouldn't give them this unless we agree. In other words, when someone comes and visits, we tell them before the visit, what should we tell our people when you still have thousands being held by you? What should we tell our people when you have your borders? What should we tell our people about your latest silly conspiracy? So come on so we can agree and settle these things clearly; agree on each ones' benefit and agree on all

the steps. Lets not stay Iraqis, “do you know what I mean when I say don’t stay Iraqis?”

Male 20      Good people...

Male 1      That’s what I mean... we’ll tell them, “before you and I visit each other, lets agree on something,” agree on something specific, your and our interests are clear, and we keep talking about the Prisoners of War, the war ended. What’s your explanation for keeping the old ones and taking the new ones? The military and the civilian planes? We can’t fly; we’ll bring it, will load it on a truck and bring it. Will disassemble the military planes to 4 peaces and bring it back, and civilian. Let it come back home. A truck will pull it all the way till it gets to Iraq. Once it’s inside Iraq we’ll deal with it.  
The other reason for Iran to come our way is that Iran started to feel the dangers... they know that what’s going on in Iraq might happen to them. If they have something, missiles, technology, nuclear or other...That is where they’re going.  
No one asked them or consulted with them when it came to the Madrid conference.  
These are the issues.

Male 21      There are slowly growing changes in the area, but, one must know how to deal with it...